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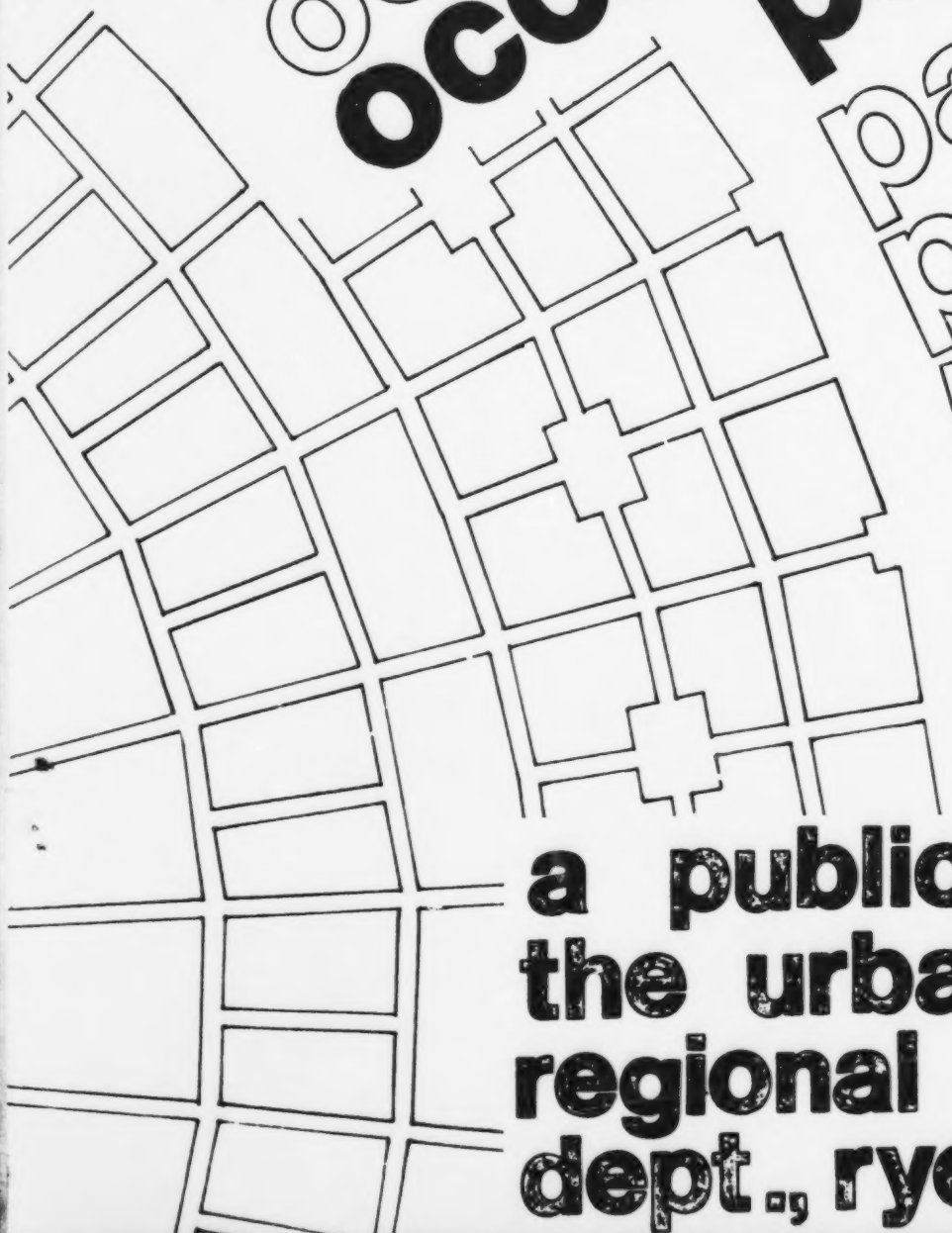

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PLANNING FOR COMMUNITIES IN THE NORTH:

A PRELIMINARY EVALUATION OF AN INNOVATIVE APPROACH

IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

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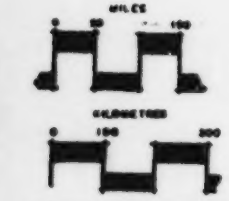
A. INTRODUCTION: THE NEED FOR AND THE CONSTRAINTS ON COMMUNITY PLANNING IN NORTHERN COMMUNITIES

The need for careful planning of communities in the vastness of the Canadian north is perhaps not readily apparent to the majority of us who live in large southern urban areas. However, in the north, as much if not more than in the south, there is a need to make wise choices in the use of scarce resources of land, time, people and money. Federal land use policy on lands north of 60^{o} and Native use of the land are founded on two diametrically opposed economic systems, and the clash of the two has had a profound effect on Native northerners. Further the effects of contact and settlement to-date, have been dysfunctional, therefore decisions made concerning communities must take into account their culture, their needs and their aspirations.

The following pages are a result of my two years on-site community planning experience in the Hamlet of Pond Inlet in the Northwest Territories, located on the northern tip of Baffin Island. (Map 1.) The purpose of this paper is threefold:

1. to alert planners to the realities of practicing the profession for communities having cultural values vastly different from their own;
2. to take the first step towards evaluating an approach to planning in a community where such value differences occur; and
3. to add to the sparse planning literature on northern issues and value conflict.

Community Status in N.W.T. 1980



LEGEND

- CITIES
- TOWNS
- VILLAGES
- HAMLETS
- SETTLEMENTS
- UNORGANIZED

TUKTOYAKTUK
ANDAVIK
INUVIK
Mc PHERSON
ARCTIC RED RIVER
PAULATUK
SACHS HARBOUR
HOLMAN ISLAND
GRISE FIORD
RESOLUTE BAY
NANISIVIK
ARCTIC BAY
POND INLET
CLYDE RIVER
BROUGHTON ISLAND
COLVILLE LAKE
FT. GOOD HOPE
NORMAN WELLS
FT. FRANKLIN
FT. NORMAN
COPPERMINE
CAMBRIDGE BAY
SPENCE BAY
GJOA HAVEN
IGLOOLIK
HALL BEACH
PELLY BAY
PANGNIRTUNG
ECHO BAY
TUNGSTEN
WRIGLEY
RAE LAKES
REPULSE BAY
FROBISHER BAY
LAC LA MARTRE
CAPE DORSET
LAKE HARBOUR
FT. SIMPSON
NAHANNI BUTTE
RAE-EDZO
YELLOWKNIFE
BAKER LAKE
CORAL HARBOUR
JEAN MARIE RIVER
FT. PROVIDENCE
FT. LIARD
DETAH
FT. RELIANCE
TROUT LAKE
SNOWDRIFT
ENTERPRISE
FT. RESOLUTION
HAY RIVER
RANKIN INLET
CHESTERFIELD INLET
SIMPSON POINT
WHALE COVE
FT. SMITH
ESKIMO POINT
SANIKILUAQ

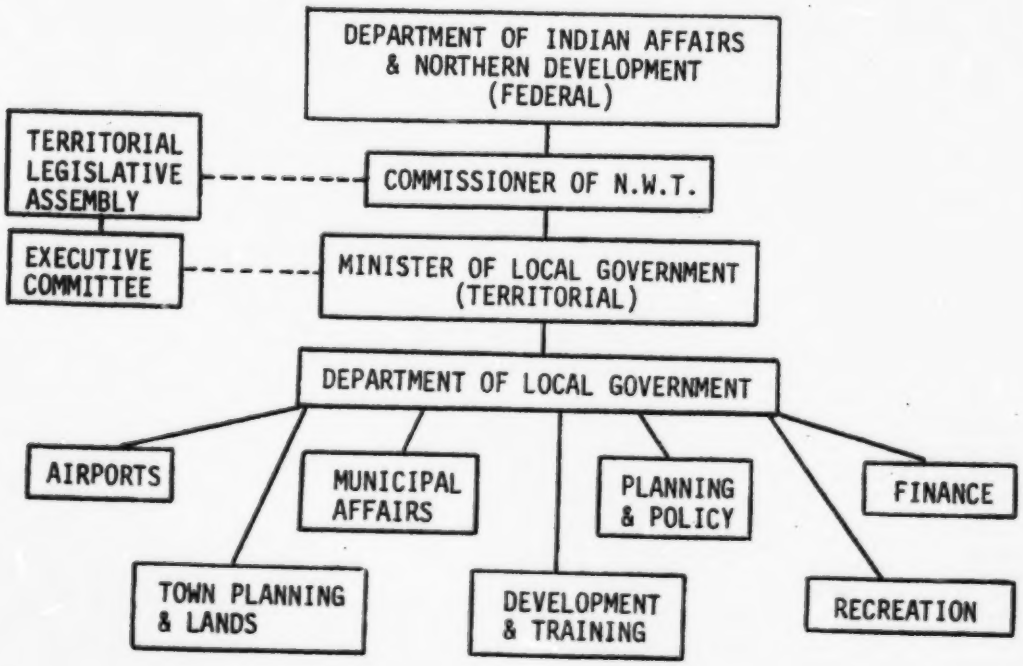
Within the Canadian mosaic there exist groups whose cultures and value systems are vastly different from those of the dominant society. These are the indigenous peoples of Canada. Communicating with these groups in Western societal concepts becomes difficult at times. "Planning" is one such concept, which removed from its Western context becomes meaningless and groups with different values experience great difficulty understanding its need and usefulness.

One might question therefore, the logic of introducing the concept of planning to groups of people, who by virtue of their culture and value systems, are not equipped to accept or comprehend it. By providing urban services and amenities western culture has already impacted on the lives of the Native peoples and will continue to do so. As a result, planning will become an intrinsic part of community development.

As the Community Planner charged with establishing local land use policies, I was constantly aware of the value differences between myself and the community. In the course of my duties I sought ways of first, gaining acceptance from the people I was hired to serve, second, learning to appreciate the values operating within the community (the client group) and third, trying to ameliorate the problems arising from the clash of cultures in the development strategy plan for the community.

Aside from the cultural differences, the practicing planner is faced with the challenge of working within a socio-political structure and a "decision-making arena" different from that usually known, in this case: the Northwest Territories.

The N.W.T. occupy one third of Canada's landmass. The population is small and sparsely distributed between 66 communities of varying sizes. Two thirds of that population is Native: Indian or Inuit. The head of the 22 member elected "legislative" assembly is the Commissioner appointed by the federal government in Ottawa. The Northwest Territories is therefore not self-governing. "Under the Northwest Territories Act, the Government of N.W.T. exists as part of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Develoment. The most important "provincial" responsibilities in the Northwest Territories are retained by various federal departments and agencies, including control over crown lands and the administration of non-renewable resource development."[1] These points, and the fact that 99% of the land is federally owned and controlled, have enormous implications for northern planning, whether regional, economic, social or community.



For example community boundaries are arbitrarily delineated with little if any consideration of the local economic, physical or social realities. The planner working for either a community or for the Territorial Government may often be frustrated by the political structure and the policies that derive from that structure.

Apart from the political realities the following are some of the other factors which affect northern communities that must be considered in the planning process.

(i) History of settlement

Settlements in the north are few and are mainly small and isolated. There are some exceptions of course, such as Yellowknife and Frobisher Bay, where administrative functions and personnel are concentrated, but most communities accommodate fewer than 1000 residents, the majority of whom are Native - Inuit and/or Indian.

Both Native groups in the north were essentially nomadic and settlements are therefore a result of southern activities and decisions. Thus, they are a recent phenomenon, many being first established as "posts" for trade, religion or administration. These posts formed the nuclei around which the Native peoples settled, as little as thirty years ago.

Initially the posts were visited on a relatively regular basis as a part of the annual migration cycle. Later the elderly and the sick took up residence close to the post and as federal government services were gradually introduced in the fifties, the settlements further expanded as schools and nursing stations were built and staffed.

In the majority of cases the Natives became permanent residents by coercion. Schooling of children became mandatory so, rather than being separated from their children during school terms, families moved into the settlements. Also, government transfer payments such as the old age pension and family allowance benefits were only available if the recipients were permanent residents.

In the late fifties a crash program for housing was initiated by the federal government with the shipping north of small (12' x 24') pre-fabricated units known as "matchboxes". These provided basic shelter only, with no facilities for water, sewage or electricity. Later pre-fab housing models were a little larger and more sophisticated with basic plumbing (water storage tanks) and electricity. Power lines and other municipal-type services were of necessity introduced into the settlements. For example, the Northern Canada Power Commission would install a diesel generator for electricity and therefore poles for the wires and oil storage tanks would be erected. Similarly, water delivery required trucks which needed garage and maintenance facilities, and a road system for vehicles had to be developed.

Thus incremental changes to the settlement occurred as numbers and sophistication of services increased. These additional land uses and services occurred without even a rudimentary land-use plan and the result is often a haphazard, inefficient use of the land.

ii) Physical constraints and scarce resources

It is ironic that in a land of such vastness that there is a great shortage of suitable building sites. This is the tundra and so northern communities are subject to permafrost conditions and therefore require specialized building

techniques, in particular the use of gravel pads. Adequate local sources of gravel are not always easily accessible, and in the general haste of a short building season, or perhaps inadequate hauling capacity, ad-hoc decisions were often made. For example, this has resulted in the use of inadequate gravel pads which in the long run destabilize the permafrost layer and shorten the life of buildings. Another example would be the use of a gravel source from within the settlement itself which reduces the long term available building land and leaves an insightly scar!

Many settlements in the north are coastal, located on raised beaches within which ice lenses occur. Usually the extent and exact location of lenses is unknown, therefore care must be taken in siting and constructing buildings if the raised beach is to remain stable. Permafrost inhibits good drainage and therefore many areas are swampy in nature and unsuitable for building. Other areas are characterised by rock outcrops, steep slopes and unstable soil conditions.

In the early days of the settlements relatively large land grants were given to such institutions as the Hudsons Bay Company, the RCMP and the missions. These lands are frequently in the best locations, e.g. along the shore frontage, and although there is a shortage of good building land these institutions are reluctant to relinquish them.

As the settlements are isolated one from another, transportation and communication linkages are vital. Airstrips in particular have, out of necessity, been built on good sites and have required gravel resources. In some cases they are located close to the communities or as in the case of Pangnirtung, the community has evolved around the airstrip which splits it in two.

Thus existing land uses can constrain the future development of the settlements.

Building costs are high for many reasons. All materials must be imported from the south, transported either by sea-lift (once a year) or by air. The building season is short because of cold and darkness and until recently all construction workers would be southerners flown in for the season or a specific project.

Mostly the housing units are prefabricated in the south and the construction material is wood. Fire regulations therefore require the separation of these units from each other by a minimum of 40 feet. Thus northern communities appear to be spread out by southern standards. Cultural preferences also dictate the separation of housing.

The climate has a considerable impact on the nature of essential community hard services. In small settlements water delivery and sewage pick-up is by truck rather than by pipe. Only in the larger communities is it economically feasible to use a utilidor system. Suitable winter water sources are often some distance from a settlement thus requiring a good graded roadway for the trucks. Similarly, the sewage disposal site must of necessity be some distance from the community, also requiring road access which needs to be maintained and kept open all year. It can be seen therefore that the provision of services is costly in financial terms.

iii) Population dynamics

The population of the north is small but subject to fluctuations. Native populations, in particular the Inuit, have high birth rates and in many

communities half the population is under the age of 16. The Native population is aging also. Deaths from tuberculosis and starvation were common until a few decades ago, but now life expectancies are increasing. Non-native populations fluctuate in tune with the economic conditions and the type of activity taking place (construction, exploration, etc.). Although there is a long term resident group, the majority of non-natives in the north are temporary residents.

iv) Other factors

As exploration and development of non-renewable resources (minerals and hydro-carbons) occurs increasingly in the north the existing communities will frequently be the foci of the impacts generated. Personnel and goods will use established transportation nodes as access points to the resource areas on a sporadic, transient, sometimes massive basis. Similarly, the north is developing a tourist industry and again people and goods will flow into and through the established communities, the tourists requiring varied, relatively sophisticated services.

B. EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY PLANNING IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Yellowknife was established as the government centre of the NWT as recently as 1967, thus administration is still in its formative stages and sophisticated and innovative methods of conducting "planning" in this culturally different region of Canada cannot yet be expected. Having been given the mandate to establish and plan communities north of 60^{o}, the Department of Local Government was faced with an enormous task.

The department, comprised of experienced southern planners and administrators, full of ideals, were dedicated to the task of providing essential services for the indigenous peoples of the territory. The department's dilemma is not difficult to see at the initial stages of development - continue to provide and expand the services which the Federal government had initiated, as well as plan for the orderly expansion of existing communities. These were tasks too great for the newly formed Department to accomplish on its own.

Basic hard service provision in the communities was undertaken by the Department and in keeping with the prevailing thinking in southern Canada at the time, planning and engineering consultants were contracted to do the more long range "comprehensive" planning in the communities. Thus the era of "the suitcase expert" had begun!

The consultants on arriving in a community would spend little time in understanding the problems and usually explained planning matters to the community using sophisticated language. The consultants' attitude was rarely positive towards Native sensibilities. The inhabitants were suspicious of the consultant and thus the relationship between them was poor. The result was a glossy plan not much different from a planning study in North Bay, Kelowna, or St. John's. These plans were costly because of travelling expenses and seldom were translated into the Native language, even in summary form. They were not understood by the community so it is not surprising that the plans were not implemented.[2]

Many such plans were formulated and many zoning by-laws were prepared in accordance with the N.W.T. Planning Ordinance during the first decade, but few were approved. The department soon realized that consultants, experienced as they were in formulating plans for southern municipalities were too expensive

and were failing in their efforts to plan for northern communities.

> "The problem is that the differences in world view between southern planners and northern unsophisticated communities in planning matters makes it impossible to bridge the gap between those two entities in a relatively short time".[3]

In the late 70's the Department of Local Government, by now better organized to deal with the daily welfare of the communities, decided to phase out the costly consultants and take upon itself the actual comprehensive planning of the communities. Other departments and agencies within the GNWT, Economic Development, Social Services and the Bureau of Information, were now producing information useful for comprehensive planning.

While this "in-house" approach was an improvement over the efforts of the consultants, it too had its shortcomings. Community plans were now being prepared in Yellowknife by people of southern attitudes, education, experience and professional persuasion, and therefore in some respects the approach and results were similar to that of the consultants' phase. This time it was bureaucrats who visited the community to have a cursory look at the settlement, meet with Council and community residents, then retreat to Yellowknife to draw up the plan. This process, albeit slightly modified, is practiced today in many of the communities.

In an effort to improve the planning of small but rapidly growing communities the GNWT, as an experiment, encouraged the creation of the position of Community Planner who would live in the community being planned until the completion of the planning documents. The planner was to be a municipal employee, working strictly for the interests of the local council. This then is the third and the most innovative and progressive approach to community planning attempted so far.

To date, there has been only one such position established, for the Hamlet of Pond Inlet, northern Baffin Island. This was a two year contract position from August 1980 to September of 1982.

C. THE CONSIDERATION OF VALUES IN PLANNING

Before evaluating this latest approach to community planning in the north it is necessary to have some appreciation of the underlying philosophy and values of the society for whom the planning is being carried out; in the case of Pond Inlet the Inuit society. The Native groups in the north hold similar world views, which are distinctly different from the world view of the minority but dominant group, the southerner or white. The implications of the domination of white over Native are many and greatly affect the planning process.

i) Attitudes of one group towards the other

The impact of the southern culture on the northern Native has been massive and rapid, and the pressures to change and conform to the dominant culture are still accelerating.

> "Change has come too quickly perhaps, eroding ancient ideologies and leaving many in turmoil, caught between two worlds, losing one and yet not understanding the other".[4]

On the other hand, the dominant group has not been sensitive enough, or chooses not to understand the degree and nature of the impact it is creating. Thus, the situation has evolved where a few southerners are controlling the majority, with intense frustration on both sides; the administrator with decisions to make and deadlines to keep and bosses to be accountable to, and the Native who feels powerless to act on his own behalf.

The attitude of southerners towards the indigenous peoples ranges from complete sympathy to total lack of respect. There is still a strong colonial mentality in most southerners in the north, the majority of whom are government bureaucrats living in centres which are atypical of the north. Yellowknife and Frobisher Bay are transplanted southern settlements with large proportions of their populations non-native. Few stay in the north long enough to come to appreciate and hence communicate with the local population they are there to serve. Either consciously or unconsciously whites have intimidated Natives in the past and that legacy continues. Because the southern society has largely failed to appreciate the Native culture and way of life the Natives are unable to explain what it is they really think and anyway feel it is pointless to try, as southerners will not listen nor understand. Therefore there is a basic lack of trust by the Native of the white.

(ii) Differing world views

The Native views the world in an holistic way. Having lived in a "closed system" (land based) for centuries they are attuned to the natural environment very differently from the non-native. The Native is an integral part of his environment and accepts all phenomena in that environment. The constant reliance on nature's elements for survival means that the Native relates to his environment in a way that no southerner can appreciate.

The white on the other hand views his world in categories. There is the economic world, the social, the religious, the working world. The southerner's view of the world is fragmented; he feels comfortable ranking, categorizing, segregating, compartmentalising the world around him, the native does not.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the Native feels estranged in a municipal setting which the white has created to provide him with basic southern amenities. The settlement sets him apart from his environment. In the community his life becomes fragmented, consequently he no longer feels congruent.

Fragmented thinking finds solutions to problems as they arise. For example the southerner can see a solution to a depleted caribou herd: introduce a substitute - beef, and compensate by subsidizing in one way or another those that rely on the caribou - hence a viable solution. The Native cannot and does not see the logic in this solution. Not that he cannot eat beef or learn to use money, he just does not view the world in those terms. To solve problems in a holistic world is to find solutions from within that world.

(iii) Attitudes about sharing

Native societies, prior to contact and in large part even now, can be considered truly socialistic. The concept of sharing was and still is an important aspect of daily life. Sharing was essential for survival. Food, clothing and shelter were shared unconditionally. Not only were essential items shared but also the land, the sea and all elements of the environment, which was in turn shared with all other living things.

Being nomadic, the Natives did not concern themselves with accumulating artifacts. The ability to hunt was the measure of success rather than the accumulation of wealth. Thirty to forty years is an insufficient length of time to change the measure of success from the ability to hunt to the southern standard of accumulating and demonstrating wealth, even if this were desirable.

For example, owning a house is not deemed necessary. In very few cases is land individually owned in the north. Houses are rental properties with rent highly subsidized and geared to income. However, the NWT Housing Corporation is trying to introduce home ownership to the Native, with singular lack of success. The advantage of "equity" in a home is not a concept that can be sold to the Inuit at this time.

(iv) Attitudes towards land

Land is a crucial element in the Natives' world and therefore cannot and should not be fragmented, subdivided or treated as a commodity to be bought and sold. Freedom of access and flexibility of use are at the base of the Native view of land. On the other hand, drawing boundaries and delineating areas is a favourite past-time of planners! It is here that the two cultures clash when planners attempt to explain what activities are allowed and which prohibited in each land use category. While there may be logical reasons for the categorizations from a southern perspective it is difficult to explain them to the people who will ultimately deal and live within the land use categories.

(v) Community Leadership

Perhaps the greatest impact of southern values has been the bringing together of the family camp groupings and placing them in organized municipalities. In a family camp setting decisions were reached through concensus, although there was one leader in charge. With settlement in communities Native extended families, who were autonomous in their camp setting, not only had to conform to the ways of the south, but were faced with competing with one another for leadership within the community.

In the case of Pond Inlet it was interesting to observe that specific families managed to establish footholds in different functional areas such as commerce, the Church, hamlet administration and so forth. This has resulted in an internal lack of co-operation between the different functional areas within the community. Therefore, planners must be sensitive to the idiosyncratic behaviour of local leaders in order to avoid conflict and produce meaningful results.

vi) Attitudes towards time and decision making

The differing concepts of time of the two groups cause many problems and frustrations. Whites view time as a straight line, as a quantity made up of units. This leads to concepts such as wasting time, being on time, making up time and so on that are unique to Western society. The Native on the other hand sees time as a circle. Each day is not a new day, but the same day come again. The Native measures time based on the seasons and hence the yearly migrations of the animals.

It is not surprising then that the Native has had difficulty in adjusting to the eight hour work week or the weekly schedule of municipal services, and this has resulted in the Native being labled as irresponsible, unreliable and unpredictable by the whites. On the other hand the Native sees the white as always in a rush, frenetic and unstable. For the Native there is a felt, "appropriate" time when things are done and decisions are made. Scheduled meetings, deadlines for submissions and flying visits by experts rarely coincide with that "appropriate" time.

Native decision making is complex, comprehensive, all-encompassing, but non-linear. The process is open to input at all times and is therefore highly

flexible, the decision outcome can change as even minor changes in variables occur. Thus, the need for "planning", with its long-range goals and objectives, is not easily understood.

"Planning" is a southern construct and up to this point planners in the north have been southerners, and this will continue to be the situation for some time to come. These planners have been socialized and educated in the dominant culture and so it is imperative that they be open to, and develop an appreciation for the values and beliefs of the Native peoples of the north. An understanding of both world views and of the differences between them is essential to any planning endeavour in the north.

D. THE POND INLET EXPERIENCE: A PRELIMINARY EVALUATION

> "Special efforts are made to involve the local councils in all aspects of town planning, from day-to-day planning operations to the preparation of a general development plan. This is considered essential in order that the communities might become more autonomous and self-sustaining, but also for them to be responsible for their community. The planning process is seen as a valuable developmental tool wherein the local people can recognize their needs and begin to identify these in a formal fashion..."[5]

This is the essence of the GNWT policy for community planning. The Pond Inlet experiment was an attempt to implement this policy to further community responsibility and autonomy. Previous planning efforts in the communities had been less than satisfactory in these regards. Plans were imposed upon them either by consultants or territorial planners while they had little input into either the process or the final product.

It was argued that acceptance of planning required a different approach, in particular a much longer time frame was needed to understand better and appreciate

local community issues and concerns. Further, to facilitate acceptance of planning it was believed that a planner should be hired who would live and work in the community. He would assist the local Council in both day-to-day decision making and formulating longer range development strategies.

In order to gain community acceptance of planning, it was thought essential that the planner be compatible to that community. Technical competence, an open mind and the ability and desire to work within a different culture, would be the main pre-requisites for the job. In the Pond Inlet case, community representatives conducted the hiring interviews and the final decision was made by the local Council. (A territorial representative was present at the interviews to ensure technical competence of the applicants).

The planner's position within the local administrative structure was no different from that of his counterpart in southern Canada, an employee of the municipality, subservient to local administrators. However, it is rare in the north that a "southern expert" would find himself in a subordinate role! This achieved two objectives: a) the authority of the local decision makers was reinforced by having an "expert" under their control, and b) the final product(s) were regarded as reflecting the wishes of the local Council and community not those of the planner, or the territorial administration.

On the surface the authority vested in the Hamlet Councils is little different from that of any small community in the south because the municipal structure of the NWT is based on a southern model*, except that the authority extends only to physical planning. Closer examination reveals another significant difference, in that there is no local property tax base and operating revenues are disbursed by the territorial government. Because the purse strings are controlled by

* Territorial ordinances are based on Alberta Legislation

Yellowknife there is a fair amount of interference in local decision making. This interference perpetuates colonialism and cannot help but counteract the territorial policy for municipalities.

The planning situation in Pond Inlet was subject to these pressures. A concerted effort was made by the Council and the planner, over a two year period to develop a plan that truly reflected the community's aspirations and cultural values. The regional planning office in Frobisher Bay gave support and guidance, and viewed the process and final product with favour. However, at final draft plan stage the plan was submitted by Council to the Department of Local Government in Yellowknife for comment and circulation. The plan that was returned to Council was substantially different from the one that had been sent. Rather than Local Government acting as an intermediary and forwarding the comments received to the community for incorporation into their plan, Local Government took it upon itself to change the plan in ways that were unacceptable to the Council.

Where were those "special efforts ... to involve the local Councils?" Where was the development of local "autonomy", "responsibility"? Unfortunately the Pond Inlet experience indicated that the internal departmental practices in Yellowknife undermined the local planning efforts and negated their own government policies.

Clearly the territorial approach and procedures need alteration. If planning for communities is to follow the Pond Inlet format in future then the community and the on-site planner must be allowed the freedom to develop the plan without interference. In other words, the territorial government should strive to implement its own policies.

If the goal is to facilitate better community planning, and at the same time foster local responsibility and autonomy, then the format used in Pond Inlet should be repeated. The Pond Inlet experience proved beneficial in many respects. Trust was established between the community and the planner. After much time and explanation, the need for planning was acknowledged by the local Council. Conversely, the planner came to understand and appreciate the operating culture and value system. Only then was he able to translate the community aspirations into a plan and land use control mechanism (zoning by-law). This by-law uses a consensual, flexible approach to development, (i.e. a development agreement procedure is entrenched in the by-law rather than specific regulations for each land use). This approach complements the Native way of decision making and gives responsibility to Council for planning matters.

To pass judgement on the effectiveness of the Pond Inlet planning approach would be premature. Time should be allowed for implementation of the plan before a final assessment can be made. However, this should not inhibit further "experiments" in other communities. It is understandably difficult to reconcile two diametrically opposed value systems which have differing expectations of planning and therefore allot planning a different priority. Given that Hamlet Councils have power and authority only over "physical operations of the community" and that the "responsibility for social concerns is retained by the territorial government",[6] surely the communities could be allowed to exercise fully the limited powers that they hold. Each community is unique and therefore must be permitted the freedom to generate its own internal approach to community development.

While the experience was valuable on a number of levels both for the community and the planner, it must be acknowledged that physical planning at the community level is not of major concern to the Native population at this time. Until the land rights issues are resolved, with Native cultural integrity assured, the Native northerners will see little reason to devote much time and energy to such matters. The major issues facing the Native cannot be resolved by good physical planning and design of their communities.

What is needed now in planning for Native communities is autonomy, flexibility in decision making, the capacity and opportunity for local councils to implement local policy and an emphasis on education. These are the critical factors which will bring the communities of age. Within these parameters a much more comprehensive approach to planning may be exercised with positive results.

Footnotes

1) Dr. Robert R. Janes, "The Social Context" in Northern Perspectives Volume 10, #6, November - December 1982 published by the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, Page 5.

2) Igal I. Roth, "Planning Implementation In Isolated Communities", Provincial Planning Directors Conference, 1982 , page 21.

3) Ibid. page 21.

4) Robert S. Semeniuk, "Inuit Mecca: Life with the People of Igloolik" in Equinox, Volume 2, #6, November - December 1982, Equinox Publishing, Page 32.

5) H.J.F. Gerein, Community Planning and Development in Canada's Northwest Territories, Town Planning and Lands Division, Department of Local Government, Government of N.W.T., Published by the Government of N.W.T. in Co-operation with the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Government of Canada, March 1980, Page 97.

6) Katherine A. Graham, Anne B. McAllister, Marcia E. George; "Local and Regional Government in the Northwest Territories" Institute of Local Government, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario 1980, Page 4.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Shahan Deirmenjian was hired in 1980 by the Hamlet of Pond Inlet to be the Community Planner. This was a unique position, the first time a small, predominantly Inuit community in the Northwest Territories was to work with a planner who would live within their community. Pond Inlet was chosen for this experiment because of its experience in administrative and political affairs and because it was potentially under development pressure from the hydro-carbon industry. Shahan's mandate was to produce a development strategy and land use control mechanism for the Hamlet.

Maggie Jones holds a Master's Degree in Community and Regional Planning from the University of British Columbia. She is presently an Instructor in the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute and teaches a course in Planning and Development North of 60^{0}. Ms. Jones was the advisor to Mr. Deirmenjian on his thesis, of which this paper is a condensation. She is also the assistant to the editor of this Occasional Paper series.

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